

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 078 326

CG 008 080

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TITLE Sex Role Stereotyping and Evaluation: A Systems Approach.
PUB DATE 25 Mar 73
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (March 25-29, 1973, Chicago, Illinois)

EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.65 HC-\$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); *Evaluation; Evaluation Methods; Females; Feminism; Research Projects; School Administration; School Attitudes; Schools; *Sex Discrimination; Social Attitudes; Social Change; Social Values; Stereotypes; Student Attitudes; Students; Student School Relationship; *Systems Analysis; *Systems Approach; Systems Concepts

ABSTRACT

The usefulness of applying the Context, Input, Process, and Product (CIPP) Evaluation Model to school systems or projects where social change is needed is examined. The author introduces a systems approach to the examination of sex stereotyping, using the CIPP evaluation model, and sketches briefly the relationship between this model and the problem of sex stereotyping. The paper further visualizes a school system and examines areas where institutionalized stereotyping may occur: in the formulation of goals and objectives; in the curriculum; in the allocation of such resources as time, money, staff, materials, and services; and in the teaching-learning situation itself. Finally, the paper argues the need for women in school administration posts; one, women need to be in positions to make decisions which would lead to the elimination of sex-stereotyping in schools, and thus in the larger society; and two, women should be equated with authority in the eyes of school children to the same extent as men are. (Author/SES)

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ED 07832

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING AND EVALUATION

A SYSTEMS APPROACH

*abstract or summary
appears on p. 2
- or p. 22*

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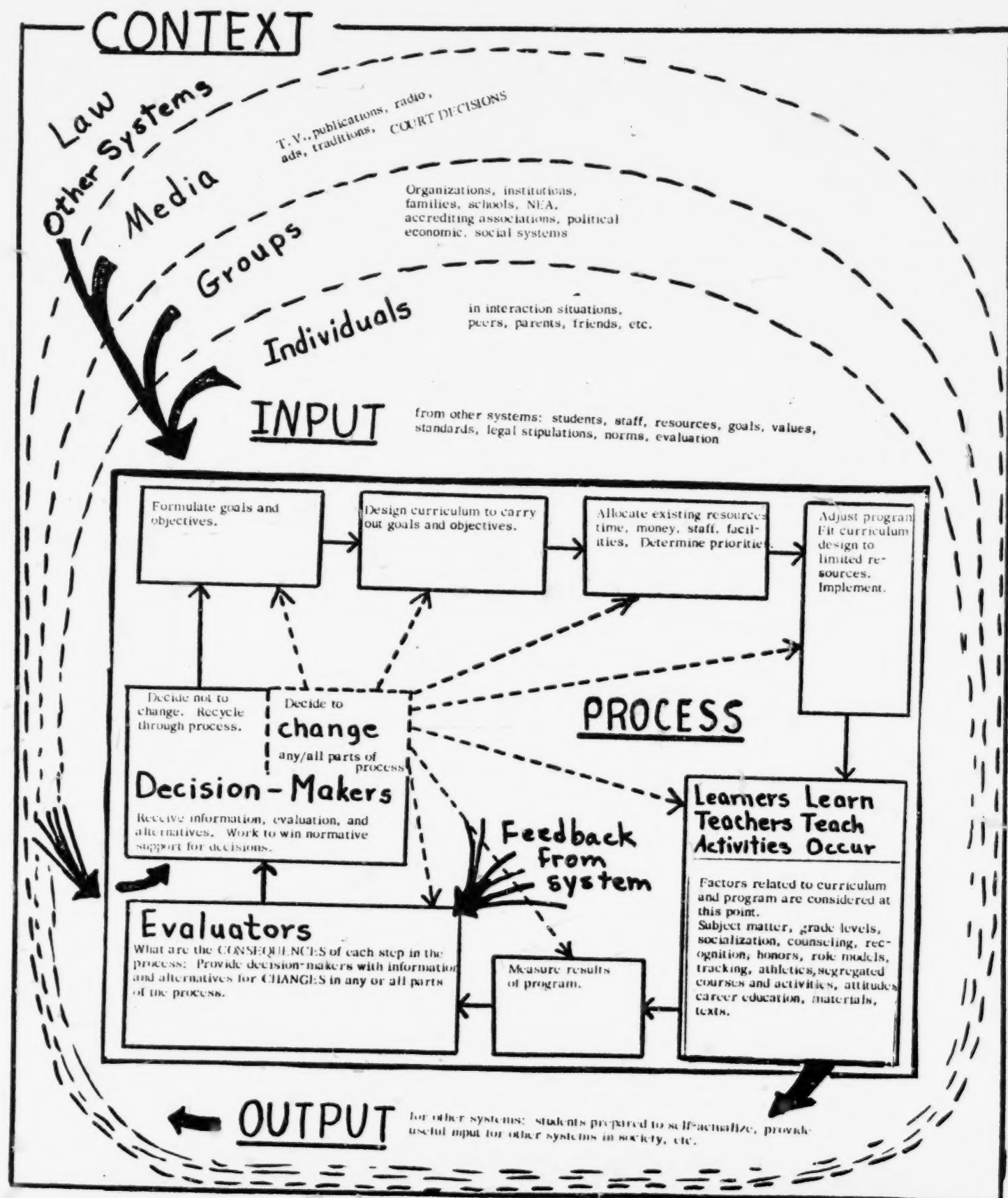
Presented March 25, 1973

The 78th Annual Meeting of the
North Central Association

Palmer House
Chicago, Illinois

CG 008 080

Systems Model of the Educational System



SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING AND EVALUATION:

A SYSTEMS APPROACH

by Gail T. McLure

1. Last Thanksgiving the National Education Association sponsored the First National Conference on Sex Role Stereotyping. The conference was planned by a coalition of minority groups and women and paid for by a grant from the U.S. Office of Education. Women and men from several ethnic backgrounds had the opportunity of meeting together and sharing their ideas and concerns about sex stereotyping in education. Parallels were drawn between the sources and the effects of racism and sexism. The manifestations and the causes of discrimination may be quite different, but the limiting effect of both on children and adults is undeniably similar.

Although my remarks will be limited to sex stereotyping, it is my hope that applications will also be apparent for the evaluation and elimination of racial stereotyping as well.

At the November conference I presented a paper entitled "Institutional Sex Stereotyping: A Systems Approach to Change Strategies." I suggested that evaluation by groups outside the system could have an important impact on the internal operations of a given system. The N.C.A., of course, is a prime example of an outside group which impacts a local system with alternatives for change.

I would therefore like to share with you some of the ideas from that paper. I would also like to share some thoughts on the usefulness of applying CIPP Model evaluation to school systems or projects where social change is needed.

- 1) First I will introduce a systems approach to the examination of sex stereotyping, using the CIPP evaluation model. The relationship between this model and the problem under discussion will be sketched briefly.
- 2) Second I will refer, by way of questions, to several places in the system--visualize a school system--where sex stereotyping occurs.
- 3) Third, based on the relationship between evaluation and decision-making, I will present an argument for why more women are needed in administrative positions in school systems.

There is so much to be said about sex stereotyping in education that a systems approach seems essential as a starting point.

A school system is an open system surrounded by numerous other systems and values which impinge on it. It has input and output and, of course, an internal process which will be our eventual main focus. Like any other dynamic system, a school system has a flow of operations.

By tracing the flow from the larger societal context through the system we can identify numerous areas where evaluation and change must occur. The CIPP Evaluation Model is designed to be used with a systems approach. The CIPP acronym stands for Context, Input, Process, and Product. It was designed by the Phi Delta Kappa National Study Committee on Evaluation and described in their book entitled Educational Evaluation and Decision Making. The model lends itself well to an examination of sex stereotyping because of the "its insistence that a system, particularly a school system, exists in a value context which affects the decision-making process within the system. CIPP Model evaluation will provide those decision makers with an assessment of the existing, changing, and predicted value context.

The authors, Stufflebeam, Poley, et al., refer to the political basis for arriving at value. "The political basis for arriving at value relates to systems maintenance or power, so that decision makers, responsible for defining a value base, inevitably use those persons with a power stake in the system to define value." (p. 113) Since the political situation regarding the tolerance of sex stereotyping is rapidly changing, and since values themselves are in a state of flux with a predictable directional change, evaluation designed for use by decision makers must point this out. Certainly the changes in the legal context should be pointed out. To omit this kind of information feedback to decision makers is to neglect ethical duties and risk legal and financial embarrassment on the part of the system being evaluated.

The Context

In one sense, the impact of recent legislation removes the discussion of societal values and attitudes to a different plane. Law says change must occur. We are faced with a question of how to accomplish the intent of the law.

Specifically Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 insures that, "no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. . . ." Dr. Cecelia H. Foxley, Director of Affirmative Action at the University of Iowa and consultant to the H.E.W. Guidelines committee, explains Title IX this way in a February article in the Notre Dame Law Review Journal, New Dimensions:

"Therefore, effective July 1, 1972, all public and private preschools, elementary and secondary schools, institutions of vocational education, professional education, and undergraduate and graduate higher education which receive Federal monies must make all benefits and services available to students without discrimination on the basis of sex. Thus, all course offerings, school facilities, financial assistance, and auxiliary programs and services must be available to students of both sexes. For example, no longer will schools be able to provide

athletic and recreational equipment, facilities and programs for male students only. No longer will sex stereotyped courses such as home economics and auto mechanics be allowed to exclude members of one sex. No longer will schools get away with applying different parietal rules to female students than to male students."

Dr. Foxley adds that,

". . . While H.E.W.'s Office for Civil Rights-Division of Higher Education has primary enforcement powers to conduct investigations and reviews, all Federal departments and agencies which extend financial aid to educational institutions are expected to enforce these provisions."

Law is certainly a large and immediate factor in the present context of the system. But it is not the only one. Norms and societal expectations are changing and will have an impact above and beyond any legally prescribed change.

One contextual factor worth mentioning may be this. Individuals and groups interested in social change have been alerting themselves to the various means of effecting change. Women's rights groups have, in the last two years, begun to direct their attention to the schools as one of the primary sources of sex stereotyping. The amount of material examining this one topic has multiplied at a phenomenal rate within the past several months, much of this being in professional journals

but an impressive amount appearing in the mass media. Communications networks exist between the major women's rights organizations and individual rights workers throughout the country. Awareness and concern, even anger, about the problem of sex stereotyping in education is widespread. But there is not so much awareness in the schools or among educators themselves. In the December 1972 issue of the USOE publication, American Education, the lack of awareness in education was summed up this way - -

There has been no special fanfare about it, not so far, and not even much conversation. On the surface the schools and colleges may seem to be going along just about as always, at least so far as employment practices are concerned, and salary schedules and what courses students may take and general administrative procedures. But change in customary ways of doing things, change of revolutionary proportions, is now enveloping education at every level.

At its core is the issue of women's rights-- and more particularly, three pieces of Federal legislation that have made 1972 a climactic historical date in the drive by women for treatment in education equal to that afforded men. These landmark bills are the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 and the Education Amendments of 1972, together with the Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971,

which became law late last year.

With this trio of breakthrough new laws (plus a handful of previous laws, Executive Orders, and Federal Regulations) the education community has been catapulted into a whole new ball game. The rules have changed, and the scorecard is going to have to show a wholesale reshuffling of the players. The ultimate result will be a dramatic facelifting of the profile of American education--in the conduct of the classroom, in the character of school and college officialdom, in school board decisions, in the makeup of graduate schools, even in the functioning of gym classes.

We have been examining the larger context in which a school system operates. As we evaluate the input, process and output of the systems model, keep in mind that we are not just concerned about how well the system is achieving its objectives. If we evaluate only on the basis of objectives, we miss a sizable portion of the whole. To ask, "How well were the objectives achieved?" is to assume the objectives were appropriate in the first place, comprehensive, and easily measured. These assumptions are not always valid.

Last spring C. Robert Pace of the University of California, Los Angeles, spoke to a group of educators in Iowa City on the newer approach to evaluation. He said,

"If one should ask himself the question, 'What are the objectives of the United States in Vietnam?' no doubt some answers would come to mind. But if instead one asked himself the question, 'What are the consequences of war in Vietnam?' a much greater range of inquiry immediately would be suggested and required. It seems obvious that the range of one's inquiry is guided by the question one asks. 'Objectives' are a subheading under 'consequences.'"

The Input

This larger context is symbolized in the model by three concentric circles. The first circle represents the context from which comes individual input. Students, teachers and staff, parents, peers,--all bring attitudes, expectations, and behaviors into the system.

Our questions as evaluators:

What are the consequences of these particular attitudes, expectations, and interactions on the system?

Do they contribute to sex stereotyping?

What control does the school system have over this input and what are its responsibilities?

What alternatives are suggested for decision makers?

The second circle represents groups, organizations, institutions and other systems which provide input for the educational system.

Most any outside system could be examined at this point for its contributing influence on the school system: the NEA, the accrediting associations, the political system, the family as an institution, courts, legislatures, coalitions of women, minority groups, and service agencies.

The third circle represents mediated communications in the form of input: textbooks, television, comics, publications of all sorts, court decisions, legislation, advertising, tradition, value orientations, as well as recommendations for change.

Input comes as a given, from many directions and in many forms. The system is not closed. It can and does interact with other systems, with other individuals, groups, and mediated communications. But this input has the capability of doing harm as well as good. Many sexist and racist assumptions are fed into the system in this way.

Our task is to consider strategies for feeding input into that same system which will serve to alleviate and eventually eliminate conditions of institutionalized stereotyping.

Evaluation of the Process

The influence of the school is best analyzed as the "process."

Step one shows the formulation of goals and objectives.

Our questions as evaluators:

What are the consequences of establishing an objective to the effect that all girls will be required to take two years of home economics?

That only boys study drafting and woodworking?

That girls must buy materials for their mothers to construct a uniform for chorus?

That only fathers be invited to Career Education Day?

That boys will be provided free physicals by local doctors who support the Boys Athletic Club?

That girls purchase their own swimming suits while the school furnishes boys' suits?

That only boys be trained to run film projectors?

That only men be recruited for administrative positions?

That the course in home economics for boys be called Bachelor foods?

That girls be informed that when women work it's usually as teacher, nurse, secretary, waitress or the like?

That girls are passive and supportive of male egos?

That father's job is outside the home; mother's job is inside the home?

Step two shows curriculum being designed to carry out stated or implied objectives.

Our questions:

What are the consequences of reading, math, and science programs with a predominately male orientation?

What are the effects of history and social studies courses which seldom note that women have contributed at all to the culture?

What are the effects of career education programs which show women as "mommies" and fathers as workers? or when mother works, she has a small range of stereotyped jobs?

What are the consequences of an athletics program which provides ten sports for boys and two girls, or a physical education program for girls where muscular development is approached with a great deal of caution?

Step three shows the allocation of resources including time, money, staff, materials, and services.

Our questions:

What are the consequences of staffing the decision-making positions with all males, the clerical positions with all females, the elementary schools with females, and the high schools with males?

What are the consequences of providing coaching and officiating jobs only for men?

What are the consequences of providing many times over more money, time, staff, facilities, and recognition and reward systems for boys' sports than for girls' sports? Or providing prime time for boys and not for girls.

Step four shows the implementation of the program after the existing resources are distributed.

Step five shows the teaching-learning situation: teachers teach; learners learn; activities are engaged in. A curriculum chart might be useful at this point so that each area of the curriculum, from pre-school through high school, or college might be examined for its consequences in relation to sex-role stereotyping. The journals are filled with analyses of what is wrong here regarding sex stereotyping.

Step six shows measurement of the results of the program. Note the distinction we are making between measurement and evaluation.

Tests, questionnaires, checklists and other forms of data gathering are included in this step. Let me illustrate through one or two examples how we might evaluate the measurement step in the process.

Since our concern today is with sex stereotyping, we might ask how our data collection instruments convey normative expectations to those answering the questions. Note the frequency of the word homemaker and the difference in treatment accorded girls in this item taken from a widely distributed 1971 management information system questionnaire designed for high school students:

"If you are a girl, answer this question. (Boys do not answer this question). After you finish your schooling what do you expect to do?

- A. Have a full-time career other than a homemaker.
- B. Have a full-time career for a while, then combine homemaking with a career.
- C. Have a full-time career for a while, then be a full-time homemaker.
- D. Begin with, and maintain both a career and homemaking.
- E. Be a full-time homemaker."

After you consider the consequences of this question for girls, consider its possible effect on boys as they're directed not to answer it.

Whereas this example builds in the stereotyped expectation, there are other kinds of research and measurement questions that can have the opposite effect. This other type could be called consciousness-raising research and could be strategically employed to create awareness of the harmful effects of stereotyping or at least could help bring unconscious attitudes closer to the surface. (A recent example of this kind of questionnaire appeared in the November 1972 issue of a new magazine called Change. The questionnaire is entitled "Sexism in American Schools." Several other consciousness raising questionnaires were submitted at the NEA sex stereotyping conference and will no doubt be published soon.

Step seven shows evaluation as the step in the process which delineates, obtains and provides information for decision makers, in other words, evaluation as the CIPP Model defines it.

Step eight shows that decision makers receive information, feedback, and alternatives for change from evaluators. They either make changes in the various parts of the process or they do not. The key role of the decision makers in this whole process will be explored in more detail in a moment.

The output feeds back into the context.

This brings us full circle in our examination of the process component of the systems model.

So far I have suggested the use of a systems approach such as the one implied in the CIPP Evaluation Model for examining not only the system but the context in which it exists. I have given examples of questions designed to probe the consequences of each of the operations of the system and its context. Now I would like to speak to a third point: Decision-Makers and the Need for Women in Administrative Positions.

Decision Makers and the Need for Women

After we assume the evaluators' perspective and apply the systems model to problems of sex stereotyping in schools, what do we do next? The CIPP Model suggests that useful information, recommendations and alternatives be provided the decision makers.

Who are the decision makers? The chart shows them to be people who are in positions to either change or not change any part of the internal process of the system. They do not determine the input but they do have formal influence over each of the components through which the input flows.

Generally, we think of the decision makers as being the administrators of the system. Of course, teachers, students, and community are demanding more voice in those decisions. We are familiar with the influence of the informal organizational structure on decisions that are made. Nevertheless, the formal and legitimate authority for those decisions rests with the duly appointed administrators.

This fact is obvious to students at all levels; it is obvious to teachers even when they are asked to participate; and it is understood by the community. For this reason, the remaining portion of present analysis will focus on the key role played by school administrators and on the need for programs to recruit and train women for these positions.

The vast majority of these administrators are men, especially as one progresses up the hierarchy of pay and influence. The national averages point to this, and in my own state of Iowa this is true. We definitely have one junior high woman principal in the state, some 100 miles distant from Iowa City. If any other woman exists in a role of secondary school principal or school superintendent, word has not reached us. The trend suggests also a systematic replacement of women elementary principals by men. Policy to this effect is admitted in many quarters, according to recent written and face-to-face surveys.

The scarcity of women administrators can be shown, I think, to explain much of the existence of sex stereotyping in schools. Even where a woman administrator exists at the present time, she is frequently without a comparable female reference group. Consequently her authority is diminished and her feminist influence rendered less than optimal.

It can be argued that changing the decision-making structure from predominately male to at least equally female can do far more than massive efforts at attitude change.

We need administrators who will be not only more attuned to the consequences of sex stereotyping, but also ones who will make more enlightened decisions as a result of this increased awareness. Furthermore, we need administrators who will make an effort to win institutional support for non-sexist education. It seems reasonable to assume that women would be at least as well qualified as men to bring this new and needed sensitivity to the decision-making scene. Hence, a major change strategy which is suggested by our model is the recruitment of women into all levels of educational administration.

Institutional Authority and Influence

With the thought in mind that more women are needed in legitimate decision-making position, let us consider the nature of institutional authority and influence.

Ideas and attitudes are institutionalized to the degree that group norms develop to support those attitudes and ideas. One of the major concerns of administrators and organizational managers is to encourage the development of group norms which support the decisions made by management. As one organizational sociologist puts it, "Not only must organizations continually make decisions, but organizations must continually make efforts to obtain support for their decisions from the environment." Through this process, decisions and attitudes become institutionalized and supported by group norms.

Couched in the group norm are some of our most persistent stereotypes. Group norms have it that girls need home economics and boys do not; that boys' egos need more positive reinforcement than girls; that girls do not need to develop the same kinds of career awareness or career expectations that boys do. Group norms tell us that girls must be lovely to look at and shy of success; that boys' athletics deserve more money and coaches and facilities than girls; that after all, girls are too delicate for many sports, especially contact sports; and that women make poor administrators because neither men nor women respect their authority. This list could be extended as you know.

If, indeed, it is the responsibility of the administration not only to make decisions--but also to make efforts to obtain support for those decisions from the environment, this gives us a sizable clue as to where in the system, our attention should focus.

A decision maker is, by virtue of that position, an authority figure. Weber defines authority as the "probability that certain specific commands (or all commands) from a given source will be obeyed by a given group of persons." The group willingly obeys because its members consider it legitimate for this source to control them. (Now someone may argue, "But administrators don't wield their authority nowadays like they used to; the whole nature of authority has changed since Weber."

If this were true, why is the myth still so persistent about women not being able to command sufficient authority?

Administrators may play their cards a little differently nowadays; they are group-process oriented; they are democratic perhaps; but the authority relationship remains in tact.)

Herbert Simon echoes and extends Weber's explanation of authority in this way: In an authority relation the subordinate "holds in abeyance his own critical faculties for choosing between alternatives and uses (instead) . . . the receipt of a command or signal as his basis for choice." In other words Simon is saying that two characteristics of authority are:

- (1) voluntary compliance with legitimate commands, and
- (2) suspension of judgment in advance of the command.

Sociologists also mention another point about authority: a value orientation must arise among the subordinates which causes them to look upon the exercise of social control as legitimate. This orientation can arise only in a group context. So the group legitimizes authority and, in fact, helps enforce the expectations of that authority.

In the model of the educational system presented here, this value orientation toward authority arises among students, faculty, and surrounding community. Group agreement and approval of what is right constitutes a social value. This group phenomenon of the acceptance and support of legitimate authority is referred to in sociological literature as the establishment of group norms or social norms.

When members of the group enforce compliance with what they perceive as expectations of the authority figure, the influence of that authority has been transformed from the individual level to the institutional level. In other words, it is not necessary for authority figures to constantly enforce their decisions, once these decisions have become supported by group norms.

We are all familiar with children in school telling each other what they are supposed to do and not to do. The same phenomenon occurs at other levels. We see it occur when a new piece of legislation passes, or when a court decision is handed down. Before long public opinion accepts the decision as legitimate and worthy of group endorsement and support. While there are exceptions, the rule is far more common.

The first reason, then, why we need women in decision-making positions is to secure a better quality of decision and to win institutional support for that decision.

There is a second major reason why more women are needed in decision-making or authority positions. Students, faculty, and community alike must see women in positions of legitimate authority. Students spend 12-13 years in a system where authority is consistently equated with maleness. If women occupy positions of legitimate authority on a basis equal with men, we could expect, over the years, to develop a different set of normative perceptions toward women than presently exists.

At the present time, we see evidence in numerous studies and in our first hand observations, that people--men and women--judge a situation, a painting, an essay or the like, differently if a male name is attached than if a female name is attached to the same piece. We are familiar with the complaint that women have to be twice as skillful as men to gain the same respect for achievement. Much of this no doubt derives from the institutionalized equation in our public schools of maleness with authority.

Note that this is not to say women do not exert influence. Influence, however, is differentiated from authority in that with persuasion, one person does critically judge the arguments of another person and these judgments in turn influence the latter's decisions or actions. Critical judgment is not suspended as it is in the case of authority. Influence is not regarded as "Legitimate," rather merely persuasive in a given case.

Kelman examines the sources of social influence in some detail but in none of the three major types which he identifies, does he conclude that influence and authority are equated. Briefly, Kelman describes influence as falling into one of these three categories: (1) compliance, where there are few alternatives; (2) identification, where the source of the influence is attractive to the beholder, and (3) internalization, where the persuasive elements just make good sense.

If, in order to make changes in the system, women must rely strictly on their powers of influence in the informal organization rather than on legitimate authority bestowed by the occupation of a role in the formal organization, we are competing on very unequal grounds.

The picture is further complicated by another related factor: The nature of authority is such that much of it is granted in the mind of the subordinate. If subordinates have been cultured to grant authority primarily to males, then placing one woman in a position of authority is not going to mean a sudden shift in those perceptions. A large representation of women in administration is needed in order to cause a new kind of value orientation to arise among those within and without the system.

Regarding the formal decision-making authority structure, we have seen two important and long term reasons for the placement of more women in key decision-making positions:

- (1) one, women need to be in positions to make decisions which will lead to the elimination of sex stereotyping in schools, and hence in the larger society;
- (2) two, women should be equated with authority in the eyes of school children to the same extent as men are.

Summary

In summary, I have suggested three considerations related to sex role stereotyping in education, starting with the assumption that it is undesirable and in need of elimination. I have, first,

- 1) indicated that a systems approach is essential to evaluating its existence and effects.
- 2) Second, I have given a few illustrative questions which could be posed at various points in the system or its context.
- 3) Third, I have pointed out that evaluation feedback must be given to decision-makers who are in a position to either change or not change the system. Some of these decision-makers need to be women.

FOOTNOTES

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¹¹Kelman, Herbert C. "Processes of Opinion Change," The Planning of Change, eds. Bennis, Benne and Chin; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961, pp. 509-517.